

Aśvín- and *Nāsatya-* in the Ṛgveda and their Prehistoric Background

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NĀSATYA(S) IN INDO-IRANIAN

1. More than 50 hymns are dedicated to the binary deities *Aśvins* in the Ṛgveda [RV], i.e. the fourth rank next to Indra, Agni, and Soma. The *Aśvínā* are referred to more than 400 times in the whole RV and almost always treated as a pair, e.g. in the nominative *Aśvínā* or °*nau* and *Nāsatyā* or °*yau* in the dual. The name *Aśvín-* appears only in the Indo-Aryan texts, but *Nāsatya-* is also attested in the Akkadian documents of the Mitanni-Hittite treaty (the 1st half of fourteenth century BC) among a great number of deities who stand guarantee for the contract. We find in this list of gods the counterparts of the Ṛgvedic gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Nāsatya, namely in the Mitanni-Hittite version (KBo I 3 rev. 41):

DINGIR.MEŠ *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ru-na-aš-ši-il* DINGIR *in-da-ra* DINGIR.MEŠ *na-ša-at-ti-ia-an-na*,

and in the Hittite-Mitanni version (KBo I 1 rev. 55f.):

DINGIR.MEŠ *mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il* (var. -el) DINGIR.MEŠ *ú-ru-ua-na-aš-ši-el* DINGIR *in-tar* DINGIR. MEŠ *na-ša-a[t-ti-ia-a]n-na*.¹

Nāsatya is also known in the Avesta as *Nāŋhaⁱθia-* in the singular:

Vidēvdād 10,9 *pa'ti.pər²ne iṇdrəm* | *pa'ti.pər²ne sa^urum pa'ti.pər²ne nāŋhaⁱθim daēum* | *haca nmāna* | *haca vīsa* | *haca zaṇtu* | *haca da'jhu*

‘I expel Indra, I expel Sa^uruua (Vedic Śarva = Rudra), I expel Nāŋhaⁱθia, the Daēuua (demon, Ungott), from the house, from the settlement, from district, from the country’.

Vidēvdād 19, 43 . . . *daēuuanqm daēuuō iṇdrō daēuuō sa^uru daēuuō nāŋhaⁱθm daēuuō* . . .

‘the Daēuua among the Daēuuas, the Daēuua Indra, the Daēuua Sa^uruua, the Daēuua Nāŋhaⁱθia . . .’.²

Therefore, some scholars regard *Nāsatya-* as the older designation of the pair of gods. Indra and the Nāsatyas (*Aśvins*), and Varuṇa-Mitra which are mentioned in the Mitanni-Hittite document, can be considered as the representatives of the Ṛgvedic pantheon. The former two represent the *devá-s* (‘the heavenly ones’) and the latter the *ásura-s* (‘lords’, *Ādityas* ‘the sons of goddess Aditi’ in the Ṛgveda³).⁴ If we exclude Agni (Fire) and Soma (in all probability: ephedra) which appear as concrete components of the rituals, the *Aśvins*

hold, as mentioned, the second position after Indra among the Devas in the number of dedicated hymns. The determinative ideogram DINGIR.MEŠ 'gods' and the terminal *-na* show that the pair (or a group)⁵ of gods are meant by *na-ša-at-ti-ia*, not a single deity as in the Avesta.

ASVIN-NĀSATYA IN THE ṚGVEDA

2. On the nature and origin of the gods, there have been many interpretations proposed. Yāska (third century BC), already, informs us of many opinions in his days (Nirukta XII 1): heaven and earth, day and night, sun and moon, and, as a view of historians, two pious kings. The Interpretations of the modern scholars are not fundamentally different: saviours (GELDNER, *Vedische Studien* II [1897] 31), morning and evening stars (Venus as Hesperus and Lucifer: OLDENBERG, GÜNTERT et al., cf. below), Gemini (Castor and Pollux: WEBER *Indische Studien* V [1862] 234, 266, *Indische Streifen* III [1879] 39 [orig. 1870], 467f. [orig. 1876], *Über die Königsweihe* [1893] 100 n. 2), rain gods (VODSKOV, *Sjæledyrkelse og Naturdyrkelse* [1890–7] 485ff.), sun and moon (LUDWIG, *Der Rigveda* III [1878] 334 with V.F. MILLER), twilights (GOLDSTÜCKER in MUIR, *Original Skt. Texts* V [1872] 255ff., HOPKINS, *JAOS* 15 [1893] 269ff.), etc.⁶ The Hesperus–Lucifer theory, represented, among others, by OLDENBERG and GÜNTERT, seems, at least in their origin, most convincing in spite of the critique presented by A. HILLEBRANDT (*Vedische Mythologie*² I 60ff., *Kl.Schr.* 266ff.).

H. OLDENBERG, *Die Religion des Veda*² (1917) 207–15 emphasizes the features of Hesperus–Lucifer in the descriptions of the binary gods. He points out remarkable correspondences among the myths of Aśvin–Nāsatya as *divó nāpātā* 'the two grandsons of the heaven', Greek *Διὸς κοῦροι* (*Diōs kouroi*) 'the sons of the Heaven' and *deeva dēli* 'the sons of the god' in Latvia, based on the studies of W. MANNHARDT (*Zeitschr. f. Ethnologie* VII [1875] 312f.) and others. The myths have also an interesting episode in common, that Venus and the moon compete for the sun's daughter (Sūryā), which the present article does not deal with. OLDENBERG assumes that the both aspects of morning and evening star have been absorbed in the morning star alone and mixed up in there. What lay behind this process is supposed to be the Weltanschauung of Vedic ritualism, which prefers the sunrise, morning, forenoon and day, to the sunset, evening, afternoon and night respectively (in the same way, the half month with waxing moon, and the half year from the winter to the summer solstice, to the other half in each case).

H. GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* (1923) 253–77 examines this view in detail and tries to reconstruct a Proto-Indo-European belief in the heaven's two sons who originally have represented two appearances of Venus. He cites some prehistoric drawings in northern Europe for his argument (cf. 13.).

3. The morning and evening stars never appear at the same time in the sky, for they are only two appearances of the same Venus, which also was a main argument of HILLEBRANDT (above 2.) against this theory.⁷ If the interpretation as Hesperus–Lucifer is correct, there must have originally existed two different myths of each star, some reminiscences of which might still be found in the RV hymns. We need thus to search for traces of the two separate components. As far as I know, such studies have not been made yet except my article 'Aśvin–

and *Nāsatya*’, *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, 39 (1991) 982–77 (in retrograde pagination, in Japanese).⁸

As mentioned above, Āśvin and Nāsatya are treated always as a pair in the Ṛgveda, except IV 3,6 *nāsatyāya* (below 11.) and two stanzas which refer to their birth:⁹

RV V 73,4 *nānā jātāv arepāsā*

‘[the both gods] separately born, without smear’.

RV I 181,4 *ihēha jātā sām avāvaśītām¹ arepāsā tanuvā nāmaḥiḥ svāiḥ | jiṣṇúr vām anyāḥ sūmakhasya sūrūr¹ divó anyāḥ subhāgaḥ putrá ūhe ||*

‘The two, born here and [there] (separately),¹⁰ bleated (cried)¹¹ together (i.e. at the same moment) with a body without smear, and with their own names (each more than one). The one of you is praised as a victorious master (boss), [son] of Sumakha, the other as a fortunate son of the heaven.’

4. Examining carefully in the Ṛgveda how they traverse the universe, we can recover really two different ways in each element of their journey.¹²

(A)		(B)
across the sky	::	over the sea
during the day	::	through the night
by chariot	::	by ship
drawn by animals	::	led by birds
(horse, two horses, bull, ass, yoked horses)		(eagle, hawks, geese, birds)
(winged horses, crocodile)		
(bull and dolphin).		

These factors, duly combined, reveal two kinds of travel:

(A) moving through the sky during the day in a chariot drawn by horse(s) or some other animals,

(B) moving over the sea through the night by ship led by bird(s).

5. Actually in the text, however, these two series have been merged together and undergone various modifications.

— 5.1. There are many occurrences, of course, where their chariot is drawn by horses (cf. Index to GELDNER, p. 40, further I 118,5 under 7., I 116,4 under 10.):

I 181, 2 *ā vām āśvāsaḥ payaspā¹ vātaramhaso divyāso ātyāḥ | manojúvo vṛṣaṇo vītáprṣṭhā¹ éhá svarājo āśvīnā váhanti ||*

‘Let your horses, [which are] pure, milk-drinking, as swift as the wind, the heavenly racehorses, as quick as the mind, the stallions with straight backs, [let them] carry both Āśvins hither, ruling themselves!’.

The following example seems to tell about the chariot traveling all over the world during the day:

VII 67,8 *ékasmin yóge bhuraṇā samāné¹ pári vām saptá sraváto rátho gāt | ná vāyanti subhāvò deváyuktā¹ yé vām dhūrṣú tarāṇayo váhanti ||*

‘Your chariot goes around seven streams in one [and] the same yoking (i.e. without

change of horses), oh active ones. The good-conditioned [horses] yoked by the gods, do not disappear, which, traversing through, carry you both, [yoked] under yoke-saddles’.

However, there are places, where the flying horses (cf. I 118,5, under 7.), birds (I 46,3, under 6.), or hawks (I 118,4, see below) are yoked.

5.2. Aśvins are called with offering and praise in the evening and in the morning (in this order), though the scene at the daybreak predominates:

X 39,1 *yó vām párijmā suvṛd aśvinā rátho | doṣām uṣāso hāvṛyo haviṣmatā | śaśvattamāśas tám u vām idām vayām | pitúr ná nāma suhávaṃ havāmahe ||*

‘Your well rolling chariot [traveling] all around the earth, both Aśvins, which is to be called by one having offering at evening [and] at dawns, we, here, call that [chariot] of you both as most persistent [callers], [which is] lovely to call, like the name of [our] father’; cf. also VIII 22,14, X 40,4.

VII 67,2–3 *ásocṣ agnīḥ samidhānó asmé | úpo adṛśran támasaś cid ántāḥ | áceti ketúr uṣāsaḥ purástāc | chriyé divó duhitúr jáyamānaḥ || abhí vām nūnám aśvinā súhotā | stómaiḥ siṣakti nāsatṣyā vivakvān | pūrvībhir yātam pathīyābhir arvāk | s_uyarvidā vásumatā ráthena ||*

‘Agni has [just] come into shining, blazed up among us. Even the darkness’ ends, on the other hand, have been [just] looked at nearly. Luminous appearance of Uṣas, the Heaven’s daughter, has [just] been recognized in the east, as it was being born for the glory. || The good Hotar goes to meet you now, oh Aśvins, with praising songs, having expressed [his thought], oh Nāsatyas. Come driving hither through many courses, by the chariot with goods, [the chariot] which finds out the sunlight!’.

5.3. Two kinds of transference could still be traced in such examples as follows:

IV 43,5 *urú vām ráthah pári nakṣati dyām | á yát samudrād abhi vártate vām |*

‘Your chariot attains wide around to the heaven, when it rolls from the ocean towards you both’.

I 118,4 *á vām śyenāso aśvinā vahantu | ráthe yuktāsa āśávaḥ patamgāḥ | yé aptúro divṣyāso ná gṛdhrā abhí práyo nāsatṣyā váhanti ||*

‘Let hawks carry you both hither, oh Aśvins, the swiftly flying [hawks] yoked to the chariot, which, crossing waters¹³ like heavenly vultures, carry [you] towards pleasure, oh Nāsatyas’. (The next stanza I 118,5 is cited in 7.)

X 39,12 *á téna yātam mánaso jávīyasā | rátham yām vām ṛbhávaś cakrúr aśvinā | yásya yóge duhitā jáyate diva ubhé áhanī sudine vivásvata ||*

‘Drive hither with that chariot which is swifter than thinking, the chariot which the Ṛbhvas have made for you, Aśvins, on harnessing of which the Heaven’s daughter (Uṣas, the dawn) is born! Both the (gone and coming) days of Vivasvant (cf. footnote 22) have [thus] good daytime’.¹⁴

V 73,8 *mádḥva ū madhūyuvā | rúdrā siṣakti pipyúṣi | yát samudrāti pársataḥ | pakvāḥ pṛkṣo bharanta vām ||*

‘The [girl (or: whip, hymn, maybe also Sūryā or dawn)] swollen with honey, well, accompanies, you both honey loving Rudras. In order that you will carry [people (cf. I 46,6, in 6.)] across through the ocean, [they] bring cooked refreshments to you’.

VII 68,3 *prá vām rátho mánojavā iyarti | tiró rájāmsṣy aśvinā śatótīḥ | ásmábhyam sūryāvasū iyānāḥ ||*

‘Your chariot with the speed of thinking [and] hundreds of aids sets the sun (?) in motion, across the regions, oh Aśvins, having been begged for us, oh both ones who have [the sun] (or: Sūryā) as your good(s) [in the chariot].’

The Milky Way in the night sky is regarded as the nocturnal route of the sun by some scholars.¹⁵ The ‘white-flowing Sindhu with golden wheel tracks’ in the following stanza might seem to support this:

VIII 26,18 *utā syā śvetayāvarī* ¹ *vāhiṣṭhā vām nadīnām* | *sindhur hiranyavartaniḥ* ||

‘And this very white-flowing Sindhu with golden wheel tracks, is the best conveyer of you among the rivers’.

It is, however, much more natural to think that the Ásvins, together with the sun, traverse the ocean or river which surrounds and underlies the earth, considering the frequent mention of waters (*āpas*), river (*sīndhu-*, *nadī-*), or ocean (*samudrá-*) in the Ṛgveda, as well as the myth about the rescue of the sunlight fallen down into the western ocean. For details, see 10.

6. We will examine RV I 46 from the above gained viewpoint:

1. *eṣo uṣā āpūrvyā* ¹ *vṛ urchati priyā divāḥ* | *stuṣé vām aśvinā brhāt* ||
2. *yā dasrā sīndhumātārā* ¹ *manotārā rayīnām* | *dhiyā devā vasuvīdā* ||
3. *vacyānte vām kakuhāso* ¹ *jūrñāyām ādhi viṣṭāpi* | *yād vām rátho víbhiṣ pátāt* ||
4. *haviṣā jārō apām* ¹ *pīparti pápurir narā* | *pitā kūṭasya carṣaṇīḥ* ||
5. *ādārō vām matīnām* ¹ *nāsatyā matavacanā* | *pātām sōmasya dhṛṣṇuyā* ||
6. *yā naḥ pīparad aśvinā* ¹ *jyótiṣmatī tāmas tirāḥ* | *tām asmé rāsāthām íṣam* ||
7. *ā no nāvā matīnām* ¹ *yātām pārāya gántave* | *yuñjāthām aśvinā rátham* ||
8. *arītram vām divās prthū* ¹ *tīrthé sīndhūnām ráthah* | *dhiyā yuyujra índavaḥ* ||
9. *divās kaṇvāsa índavo* ¹ *vāsu sīndhūnām padé* | *svām vavrīm kūha dhitsathah* ||
10. *ābhūd u bhā u amsāve* ¹ *hiranyam prāti sūrīyah* | *vṛ ākhyaj jihvāyāsitaḥ* ||
11. *ābhūd u pārām étave* ¹ *pānthā ṛtasya sādhuṣā* | *ādarṣi vi srutir divāḥ* ||
12. *tāttad id aśvīnor āvo* ¹ *jaritā prāti bhūṣati* | *made sōmasya pīratoḥ* ||
13. *vāvasānā vivāsvati* ¹ *sōmasya pītīyā girā* | *manuṣvác chambhū ā gatam* ||
14. *yuvor uṣā ānu śriyam* ¹ *pārijmanor upācarat* | *ṛtā vanatho aktúbhiḥ* ||
15. *ubhā pibatam aśvinā* ¹ *-oḥ bhā naḥ sārma yachatam* | *avidriyābhir ūtībhiḥ* ||

1. Here radiates Uṣas (the dawn) wide, having no precedents, the beloved [daughter] of the Heaven (or: the member of the heaven). I highly praise¹⁶ you both, oh Ásvins,
2. who are miracle-workers having rivers (or: Sindhu) as their mother, imaginers of wealth, through insight finders of goods, the gods.
3. Your eminent (or: leading)¹⁷ [draught horses of the ship (7a)] move waving on the crumbled surface [of the ocean], so that the chariot of you both should/will fly with birds.
4. Waters’ lover (Soma), the generously giving one, carries [you both] across with the oblation, oh both men, [who is your] father, the border of kuṭa (?).¹⁸
5. [Soma is] the opening (revealer) of the thoughts (hymns) for you both. Nāsatyas, the ones who speak what they think, drink from Soma boldly!
6. Bestow on us such luminous nourishment (: the dawn) that should carry us across the darkness, you Ásvins!¹⁹
7. Drive hither by our ship of thoughts (hymns), in order to go to the opposite shore! Yoke the chariot, you Ásvins!
8. Your paddle is [so] wide [as the width of] the heaven. The chariot is on the ford of the,

river^s]/[which come together]. [Soma's] drops have been yoked [to the chariot] together with the insight (prayer, hymn).

9. The drops of the heaven²⁰ are on the footstep of the rivers as your good, you Kaṇvas (: colleagues of the poet). Where do you both want to set up [your] own hiding-place?
10. The splendour, on one hand, has [just] come into existence for the Soma-plant. The sun is equal to the gold. The black one (the fire) has [just] looked through with [its] tongue (flame).
11. The way²¹ of the truth (cosmic order), on the other hand, has [just] become correct in order to go to the opposite shore. The track of the heaven has [just] become distinct.
12. The singer is ready for [accepting] even each aid of the Aśvins, who carry [us/the sun] across in [their] intoxication of Soma.
13. Come here [to us], dressed in drink of Soma [and] the song (of welcome) at home of Vivasvant,²² you beneficial [gods], like to [our ancestor] Manuṣ [in those days]!
14. Uṣas (the dawn) approaches after both your glory, [who travel] all around the earth. You love the truths (cosmic orders) through [many rounds of] darkness [before daybreak].
15. Drink both, oh Aśvins! Hold out protection to us, you both, through the aids not to be pierced!

The stage is before daybreak (1, 6, 10, 11, and 14). The gods' pair is just before finishing their voyage by landing on the shore at the eastern end of the earth, where they make a change to the chariot, which will fly with birds (3). They yoke the chariot (7, 8), and are going to start for the soaring journey towards the western shore (3, 7, 11). This is the main story underlying the stanzas. The poet has modified it for the ritual setting. He identifies: the ship with priests' thoughts, i.e. the hymns (7: *ā no nāvā matīnāṁ*), the chariot with the ritual, the charioteer with insight (*dhī-*), the draught animals with Soma drops (8). It is also noteworthy that the mother of the Aśvins is referred to as "Sindhu" (or, rivers: 2), and father as "waters' lover" (Soma: 4).

7. Thus, there are good reasons to suppose that the one of the Aśvins who traverses the ocean by night was originally the evening star (Hesperus), and the other one driving the heavenly road by day was the morning star (Lucifer). Each aspect of Venus plays its role as *conductor* of the sun around the sunset and the sunrise respectively. The Aśvins appear nevertheless always together in every scene:

I 112,13 *yābhiḥ sūryam pariyāthāḥ parāvāti*

'... [with the aids *ūtībhiḥ* (repeated in the hymn)] with which you drive in the farthest place around the Sun', GELDNER 'überholen'.

The verse seems to imply that they appear after the sunset and overtake the sun in the ocean (or river) surrounding and underlying the whole world. Cf. 10., 13., 14.; as to *parāvāt-*, see footnote 45.

I 118,5 *ā vām rátham yuvatís tiṣṭhad átra | juṣṭvī narā duhitā sūryasya | pári vām ásvā vápuṣaḥ pataṅgā | váya vahant_uv aruṣā anhīke ||*

'A young woman, the Sun's daughter (Sūryā), mounts your chariot here (everyday), delighted, oh both men. Let the flying horses belonging to the amazing appearance (i.e. the sunlight, cf. footnote 46) [in the form of] the red-shining birds, convey you both around to the meeting-place!'.²³

Here is a scene at dawn at the east end of the world. The sun's daughter, who represents presumably some aspect of the morning sun, is now starting on her journey to the west in the chariot drawn by the flying horses visualized in form of red-shining birds.²⁴

8. The evening star appears after the sunset, overtakes the sun, and conducts it by ship. The morning star appears before dawn and leads the way. The Sun traverses the sky in the chariot drawn by horses or a single horse.

The designation *Āśvín-* 'characterized by horse(s), having horse(s) habitually or professionally', is quite adequate to the morning star as the horse master of the Sun. The constant dual, *Āśvínā*, *Āśvínau*, etc. is explained as elliptical morning stars', i.e. 'the morning star and evening star'.

It is inferred, then, that the evening star could have been called with the other name *Nāsatya-*. The dual *Nāsatyā*, *Nāsatyau* means 'evening stars', i.e. 'the evening star and morning star'. This assumption is confirmed by its etymology.

9. The word *nāsatya-* is in all probability a Vṛddhi-formation of the not attested substantive **nasati-* with the suffix *-atí-*²⁵ from the Proto-Indo-European root **nes* 'come home safely':

Old Indo-Aryan *nāsa-te* 'to come together happily at home', Greek *νέομαι* 'to return home', Gothic *ganisan* 'to be saved' with the causative *nasjan* 'to save, cure', German *genesen* 'recover, convalesce'.²⁶

The Old Indo-Aryan substantive *āsta-* 'home' (cf. I 116,5, under 10.) is derived from the verbal adjective (so-called past passive participle) **ns-tó-* 'come home' with an accent shift. *āstam eti* 'goes home' is a common expression for the setting of the sun since the Atharva-veda. An Old Indo-Aryan popular word *s_(u)vastí-* 'well-being' comes from **h₁su-ns-ti-*, meaning etymologically 'good uninjured-coming-home'. It reminds us of the famous poem of Sapphō to Hesperos:

Ἕσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ' Αὖως, φέρεις ὄιν, φέρεις αἶγα, φέρεις ἅπυ
μάτερι παῖδα²⁷

'Evening star (*Espere*), who brings all the things together, home that the shining dawn has scattered!
You bring the sheep. You bring the goat. You bring the child from the mother'.

nāsatya-, thus formed from the root **nes* 'come home safely', will mean 'being in charge of the safe return', being a suitable epithet for Hesperus which rescues the sunlight (see 10.) and makes everything go home safely.²⁸

9.1. The Buddhist canon (Digha-Nikāya, Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Itivuttaka, etc.) preserves a far echo of *Nāsatya-*. Pāli *osadhī-tārakā-* (or simply *osadhī-*) means there the morning star, or Venus, as becomes clear from the context. *osadhī-* is derived from Old Indo-Aryan *ósadhi-* in the meaning of 'medical herb'. It takes over the character of *Āśvins* as medical doctors (cf. 10.).²⁹

9.2. The word *nāsatya-* appears as 4-syllabic 66 times among its 99 occurrences. It is to be read as *nāsatya-*, so that there is no hindrance in the above-mentioned derivation of the word. Only once, the reading *nāśsatya-* (*nāasatya-*) makes up a better cadence: VI 11,1c ā
no mitrávárūṇā nāsatyā. Here lies perhaps an individual reinterpretation, or allusion to *nā*

asatyā- ‘not non-existent, not untrue’ by the poet, if not a pure metrical irregularity caused by three proper names in a verse line.

10. The rescue of a person named *Bhujuyū*-³⁰ from the sea belongs to the heroic achievements of the *Aśvins*–*Nāsatya* in the *Ṛgveda*. It might be remarkable that the name *Nāsatya* appears with somewhat greater frequency in this story:

I 116,3-5 *túgro ha bhujuyūm aśvinodameghé* | *rayīm ná kás cin mamṛvām ávāhāḥ* | *tám ūhathur naubhír ātmanvátibhir* | *antarikṣaprúdbhir ápodakābhiḥ* || 3 || *tisráḥ kṣápas trír áhātivrájadbhir* | *nāsatyā bhujuyūm ūhathuḥ patamgáih* | *samudráśya dhānvann ādráśya pāré* | *tribhí ráthaiḥ śatápadbhiḥ śádaśvaiḥ* || 4 || *anārambhaṇé tát avirayethām* | *anāsthāné agrabhaṇé samudré* | *yád aśvinā ūhathur bhujuyūm ástaṁ* | *śatáritrām návam ātasthivāmsam* || 5 ||

‘Tugra had abandoned (his son) Bhujuyū in the cloud of waters (the ocean), oh *Aśvins*, as someone who has died [abandons his] property. [You both] have carried him by means of the ships equipped with the *ātman* (animated?), which leap (or: flow) in the atmosphere [and] keep the water off. || Through three nights and three times the days (i.e. three days), with over-rambling flyers, oh *Nāsatyas*, you have carried Bhujuyū onto the dry land, the other shore of the wet ocean, with three chariots equipped with hundred(s) feet and six horses’. || [You both] demonstrated your heroism in the ocean having no support, no foothold, no handhold, in that you both, oh *Aśvins*, have carried Bhujuyū home, who has gone abroad the ship equipped with hundred(s) rudders’.

X 143,5 *yuvám bhujuyūm samudrá ā* | *rájasaḥ pārá inkhitám* | *yātám áchā patatrībhir* | *nāsatyā sātáye kṛtam* ||

‘You both drove with the flyers towards Bhujuyū swinging in the ocean, on the other shore of the region. O *Nāsatyas*, you made [the thing] for triumph’.³¹

I 119,4 *yuvám bhujuyūm* | *bhurámāṇam víbhir gatám* | *sváyuktibhir niváhantā pitṛbhya ā* | *yāsiṣṭám vartír vṛṣaṇā vijeñṣyam* | *dívodāśya máhi ceti vām ávaḥ* ||

‘You both go towards Bhujuyū struggling [in the ocean] with the birds which are yoked by themselves, bringing [him] home from the fathers (i.e. the world of the ancestors).³² [Then] you both drive the winning round,³³ you both bulls. For *Divodāsa* the great help of you both is recognized’.

This episode goes back to the common Indo-Iranian era, as OETTINGER, III 31 (1988) 299f. showed, more detailed GOTŌ, ‘*Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa in RV VII 88*’ (Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik, Erlanger Tagung 1997 [2000] 147–61) 152 n. 18:

Yt 5,61–63 *tam yazata pāruuō yō viṣrō nauuāzō* | *yaṭ dim usca uzduuṇaiiat* | *vərθ θrajā taxmō θraētaonō* | *mərθ yahe kahrpa kahrkāsahe* | *hō auuaθa vazata* | *θri.aiiarəm θri.xšaparəm* | *pa’tiṣa nmānəm yim x’vāēpa’tim* | *nōit aora auuō’risiiāt* | *θraošta xšafnō θritiiaiiā* | *frāymaṭ ušāṣhəm sūraiia* | *vinnu’tim upa ušāṣhəm* | *upa.zabaiiat arduuim sūrəm anāhitəm* | *arduuī sūre anāhite* | *mošu mē jasa auuayhe* | *nūrəm mē bara upastəm* | *hazaṇrəm tē zaoθranəm* | *haomauuātinqəm gaomauuātinqəm* | *yaozdātānəm pa’riayḥarštanəm* | *barāni aoi āpəm yam raḥhəm* | *yezi jum frapaiiemi* | *aoi zqm ahuraδātqm* | *aoi nmānəm yim x’vāēpa’tim*.

‘*Pāruua*, the prophetic (lit.: quivering) navigator, worshiped her (the goddess *Arduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*), after the victorious, brave *θraētaona* had made him fly high in the body of a vulture. | He flew in that way three nights and three days towards the house, which is his own. He should not turn downward. After the fulfillment of the third night, he has gone (come) towards the dawn of the brave [*Anāhitā*], towards the wide shining dawn. He addressed to the dawn [i.e.] to *Arduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*: *Arduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*, go (come) quickly for me for help! Bring me now assistance! I will

bring you a thousand libations, [which are] made of Haoma, made of milk, made vigorous, strained through [a sieve], into the water which is Raṇhā, if I reach alive the earth created by the Lord, to the house, which is my own'.

We meet here with reminiscences of an old cosmic myth about the rescue of sunlight fallen down into the ocean at the western end of the earth, and bringing it back to the eastern shore. *Θραῖταονα- Ἄθβιια-* in the Avesta, with his Vedic counterpart *Tritá- Āpt.yá*,³⁴ rescues the lost sunlight in the ocean at the western end, in Young Avestan *raṇhā-* by name (Vedic *rasā-*). The main character in the Avestan story *Pā^uruua* appears also in *Pursišnihā* 32 together with Raṇhā in an obscure context. *Paurá-*³⁵ in the Ṛgveda corresponds most probably to this person, for Ásvín-Nāsatya rescue also him from water:

V 74,4 *paurām cid dhīy ūdaprútam | páura paurāya jínvathah |*
'You both invigorate even Paura, leaping/swimming in water . . . '.

This ocean Raṇhā (about Vedic Rasā, in the next paragraph) reminds us of 'the World Ocean (or River)' which the Nāsatyas traverse by night with the sun (cf. 5.3., at the end; 7.: I 112,13; footnote 45). According to the suggestion given by Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ, the myth about the transfer of the sun was originally composed of three parts:—1. Trita ("the third one") rescues the evening sun fallen into the western ocean (river) beyond the world,³⁶ 2. Nāsatya, the evening star, which sets down a little later than the sun, transports (or, conducts) the rescued sunlight across the ocean by ship, 3. Ásvín, the morning star, waiting on the east side of the world, leads the morning sun by chariot through the sky.—Trita should have played his role in the time lag between the setting of the sun and of the evening star.

The characterization of the chariot of Ásvins (or the Sun's daughter) by the triple components, such as three wheels, three seats, three tires, three supports, etc. (cf. 15.)³⁷, may symbolize these three stages of the sun's transfer or three members in charge of each stage, i.e. Ásvín, Nāsatya and Trita. Nāsatya could have taken over the Trita's task, then in such an early stage that the role of Trita as well as of the three elements of the chariot had become mysterious, for example:

RV X 85,16 (wedding song) *d_uvé te cakré sūrye | brahmāṇa ṛtuthā vidhūh | atháikam cakram yád gūhā | tād addhātāya íd viduh ||*

'Your two wheels, oh Sūryā, the priest-scholars know [them] periodically (according to the right time). But only the truth-seers know the one [more] wheel that is hidden'.

Rasā is, in the Veda, the river, which the she-dog Saramā crossed for finding out the cows hidden by the Paṇis in their Vala (defence wall). In this Vedic story a cosmic legend and an earthly affair (release of cattle from the Vala, i.e. raid on a hostile rich tribe) overlap each other, and the heroic achievement is attributed to Indra. Thus, Rasā is rather a river, on the riverbar or island of which Vala is located, and not the western ocean anymore.³⁸

One can postulate a story of salvaging the sunlight, which explains the character of both Ásvins and Greek Dioscuri as the deities of sea rescue. L. VON SCHROEDER WZKM 9 (1895) 131f. pointed out some important factors in this respect, here also, considering Latvian folk songs. One should note here once more the etymology of the name *Nāsatya-* (9.), and his (their) important character as the healer, which we could only shortly refer to (9.1.).

In the hymn of Aśvamedha (sacrificial horse), the Sun is compared to the horse, which is born from the ocean:

I 163,1 *yád ákrandaḥ prathamám jāyamāna | udyán samudrād utá vā púriṣāt | syenásya pakṣā hariṇásya bāhū | upastútyam máhi jātám te arvan ||*

‘When you neighed being born just now while rising from the ocean or rather from the spring (outlet of the underground water), [your] wings were [those] of the eagle, arms were [those] of the gazelle. Your great birth is praiseworthy, you racehorse’.³⁹

It is worth asking, if not also in the Odyssey, the story of *νέομαι*, one could find some elements from the legend of rescuing the fallen sunlight.

11. Ṛgveda IV 3,6 is the sole place where the name Nāsatya appears in the singular,⁴⁰ as in the Avesta: *brávaḥ kád . . . agne | kád . . . | párijmane nāsatyāya kṣé | brávaḥ . . .* The line c has only 9 or 10 syllables, and is metrically irregular. HOFFMANN in SCHINDLER, Diss. (1972) 15 tries to recover the missing syllable by conjecturing *nāsatyāya yakṣé*. He assumes an infinitive **yakṣé* of the root *yakṣ* ‘to appear (monstrously)’ and translates: ‘damit der herumfahrende Nāsatya erscheint’. This restoration of the line is convincing, but the translation does not fit in context. We had better consider **yakṣé* as the dative of noun *yákṣ* (otherwise *yakṣá-*) ‘wonder, monstrousness’: ‘Agni, what will you say (*kád . . . agne . . . brávas*) to Nāsatya who [travels] all around the earth, to the wonder’, or as the locative of *yakṣá-* ‘in the case of the wonder (the sunlight in the night)’. Cf. *vápuṣ-* ‘amazing appearance’, said of sunlight (see footnote 46).

We have here a relic of the myth about the evening star alone, not joined to that of the morning star. **yāyayakṣé* has been corrupted to **yāyakṣé*, not simply by the haplology, but mainly on the ground of the otherwise constant dual use of the gods in the Ṛgveda. Thus **nāsatyāya yakṣé** to *nāsatyā* in the dual, and *yakṣé*, then analysed or codified in the Padapāṭha as *nāsatyāya kṣé* whatever the implication may have been.

The “wonder” of the sun, more precisely of the sunlight, in the night, was treated in my article “Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa” (see footnote 3). Vasiṣṭha and his family were priests specialized in the task, among others, of raising the Sun and leading it to its right course on the strength of their prayer songs. The family had a close relation to Varuṇa and other Āditya gods.

SEARCH FOR THEIR PREHISTORIC BACKGROUND: COLLATION WITH THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

12. We can identify some elements found in the Ṛgveda hymns to Varuṇa, Mitra, and Ādityas with some symbols or figures in Miθra worship. There are also remainders of Hesperus (Nāsatya) and Lucifer (Aśvin) among them: **Figure I (1–6)**.

13. In the Indo-Iranian period, at the latest, there was a myth of the Evening Star who rescues the fallen sunlight from the sea and takes it aboard a ship, as well as that of the Morning Star who conducts the chariot of the Sun god. The Sun changes before daybreak from ship to chariot. In the Ṛgveda, the sun does not come to the surface any more in this respect, we can find their relics rather in the Aśvin hymns.

The very scene, in which the Sun is changing to his vehicle (symbolized by a horse), is found engraved in a rock in Tanum, south Sweden (**Figure II-1**). GÜNTERT cites this figure together with some bronze razors from Denmark showing pictures of the twins rescuing the burst sunlight on board (**Figure II-2**). He does not succeed, however, in its full interpretation, since he treats two stars without distinction. Although he points to St. Elmo's fire found in the sea rescue myth about Dioskuri, he does not recognize that the ship travels in the night. He assumes that the ship traverses the sky in the daytime like the Egyptian sun ship and that the Sun and Venus are both represented in the form of a horse.⁴¹

It is worth while to notice that the 'sunlight' as material⁴² and the personified 'Sun' are distinguished in the Veda, which may be difficult to understand for non-Vedic philologists. The word for 'the sun' (or 'the sun-god') derives in each Indo-European language separately from the material substantive for 'sunlight' through any personifying method.⁴³ An exception is Iranian, where the word for 'sunlight' is used in the meaning of 'the sun' even today.⁴⁴

14. In the figures on the bronze razor, we can recognize the sea-surface, a boat (ship), and the burst sunlight. In **Figure II-2 C**, we might identify a bird guiding the ship in an upside-down position, though this "goose" seems to show a development of s-figure variations (fragments of the burst sunlight?) observed clearly in the corresponding part of the razors in **Figure III-1** and -2. If the interpretation is correct, we can regard the boy above standing on the head in the Swedish rock drawing (**Figure II-1**) as Hesperus.⁴⁵

15. Figures of combined spirals, as we have met in south Sweden (13., **Figure II-1**), are reported mainly from Europe since *ca.* 3000 BC. Some of them could have some relation to the myth around the sun in the night and in the day: **Figures IV–XI**.

Archaeological findings, especially from Europe, sometimes show elements that remind us of some data in the Ṛgveda. The chariot of Ásvins or the Sun is characterized by the triplet such as 3 wheels, 3 seats, 3 parts, 3 tires, and 3 supports, golden, with honey-whip, etc. (see 10., with footnote 37). The famous sun-carriage from Trundholm (fourteenth century BC, **Figure XII-1**) has 3 axes (6 wheels); a clay carriage from Dupljaja has 3 wheels (**Figure XII-2**), also so the chariot's figure from Potsdam-Eiche (**XIII-1**). The number 3 originated seemingly in some allegory related to the movement of the sun. We have the opportunity to understand historical reality more precisely through the verification of archaeological and philological factors in mutual collation. In case of the idea about the sun, we must take into consideration also Nāsatya–Ásvin or Hesperus–Lucifer, Trita, Uṣas (the dawn[s]), etc. The double spiral (**Figure II-1, IV–XI**) can be compared with the two wheels of the Asvins' chariot (cf. 7., with footnote 24, 10.: RV X 85,16):

V 73,3 *īrmānyád vápuṣe vápuṣ | cakráṃ ráthasya yemathuḥ | páry anyā nāhuṣā yugā | mahná rájāmsi dīyathaḥ ||*

'You both keep the one amazing figure, [i.e.] the chariot's wheel, motionless, for the [other] amazing figure (the sunlight in the night). You fly around [with the one] over the other lineages of Nahuṣ, with [your] greatness over the regions'.⁴⁶

I 30,19 *nṛ ághnyásya mūrdhni | cakráṃ ráthasya yemathuḥ | pári dyām anyád īyate ||*

'You both keep [the one] wheel of the chariot on top [of head] of the elite bull. The other moves around the heaven'.

16. The region beyond the ocean drawing the western boundary of the earth is associated with the world of the dead.⁴⁷ Apropos of the direction west, stanza 6-7 in the R̥gveda hymn 'A boy and a chariot' (X 135) are remarkable. The cool poet regards the Yama's paradise simply as the tomb having an exit in the west. The same hymn refers to chariot and ship, which seem to carry the dead to the beyond:

1. *yásmin vṛkṣé supalāśé* 'deváih sampíbate yamáḥ |
átrā no viśpátīḥ pitā 'purāṇām ánu venati ||
2. *purāṇām anuvénantaṁ* 'cárantam pāpáyāmuyá ||
asūyānn abhy àcākaśaṁ 'tásmā aspr̥hayam púnah ||
3. *yám kumāra návam rátham* 'acakráṁ mánasākṛṇoh |
ékeṣaṁ viśvátaḥ prāñcam 'ápaśyann ádhi tiṣṭhasi ||
4. *yám kumāra prāvartayo* 'rátham víprebh̥yas pári |
tám sāmānu prāvartata 'sám itó nāv̥y áhitam ||
5. *káh kumārám ajanayad* 'ráthaṁ kó nír avartayat ||
káh svit tát adyá no brūyād 'anudeyī yáthābhavat ||
6. *yáthābhavad anudeyī* 'táto ágram ajāyata |
purástād budhná ātataḥ 'paścān nirāyaṇaṁ kṛtām ||
7. *idāṁ yamáśya sādanaṁ* 'devamānām yád ucyate ||
*yám asya*⁴⁸ *dhamyate nāḍír* 'ayám gīrbhiḥ páriṣkṛtaḥ ||

1. [boy:] Under the tree in full leaf, where Yama is drinking together with the gods, there the chief of our tribe, [my] father, follows the tracks of the antecedents.
2. I gazed, feeling pain, at him following the tracks of the antecedents, wandering miserably in bad manner. I had a yearning for him [to get] back.
3. [some voice:] On the new chariot without wheels, oh boy, which you made by thinking, you stand on [it], without seeing [it], which has [only] one shaft [but turn] to every directions.⁴⁹
4. The chariot, oh boy, which you made rotate forward from among the trembling (inspired) ones (priests, at the funeral rites?), after it melody (of the hymns) rotated forward, set from here together in the ship.⁵⁰
5. Who begot the boy? Who made the chariot roll out? Who ever can tell us today, how the nurse became?
6. As [his] nurse became, [so] the apex came into being. In the east (front), the bottom is put up. In the west (behind) an exit is made.
7. This is the residence of Yama, which is called the palace of the gods. Here his reed is blown. He (Yama) is made up (adorned) with songs.

There are tumuli in Japan decorated with drawings or paintings, in which one observes some or almost all of the above-mentioned components (sea, ship, horse, person, bird, spiral . . .). They date back between the fourth and seventh century AD. Some of them will be presented here from three books in Japanese: **Figures XIV–XVI.**

Ship, horse, and man's figure are found, e.g. in XIV-1 (= XV-2), XIV-2, XIV-5 (= XV-1) :: II-1, in addition, bird(s), and perhaps the sunlight: XIV-1 (= XV-2), XIV-6; cf. ship with bird's bow in XIX, figures of the sunlight in II-1, II-2, III, IV–XI :: XIV-4, XV-4, XVI. As

for jointed spirals, compare XV-3 with II-1, IV–XI. What symmetric circinate figures (“bracken”-patterns) mean, is to my information as yet unclear: XIV-1 (= XV-2), XVI-1, XVI-2 :: II-2 B, XVIII, and also their duplex variation: XIV-3 :: XVII.

The sun comes back every morning from the western oversea region, whether over the night sky, or more likely through some underground channel. This fact evokes the hope or prayer for recovery of the dead, which we can see in the drawings or paintings in tumuli, graves, or on stelae. Nordic bronze razors, too, are probably destined for the passed away. Their journey is associated with the travel of the fallen sun, so that they may return. The question is, whether such correspondences broadly observed in the world are ubiquitous phenomena, or some cognate relationship exists in their contents and forms, in a sense such as M. WITZEL’s Laurasian mythos. We hope that further investigations will elucidate the origins, historical developments and mutual relations of the myths and figures all over the world.

NOTES

1. DINGIR is the ideogram for ‘god’, and DINGIR.MEŠ for its plural. -(a)ššil is most likely an attempt to express the Vedic dual-compound (*Mitrá-Váruṇā*) by Hurrian means, cf. MAYRHOFER, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (1966) 95: 1943C (FRIEDRICH, *Orientalia*, Nova Series 12, 311–17). In -*nnā* the plural form of the Hurrian article -*nni* is to be understood: MAYRHOFER, op. cit. 15 n. 1 (SPEISER, *Introduction to Hurrian*, 1941, 101f.). He cites **Inda-r[a]* and **Na[š]šattia-[n]na* as the Hurrian forms of *in-da-ra-lin-tar* and *na-ša-at-ti-ja-an-na* respectively (*Die Arier im vorderen Orient—Ein Mythos?*, 1974, Index p. 83).
2. *sauru* (v.l. *saurū*, *saōru*) instead of the nom. sg. *sa^uruuō*, and *nāṅhaiθem* (v.l. *nāiṅhaiθem*) instead of *nāṅhaⁱθiō*.
3. 1. *Váruṇa*- (deification of the king’s right), 2. *Mitrá*- (contract), 3. *Aryamán*- (tribal common law, custom), 4. *Bhága*- (distribution, allotment), 5. *Ámśa*- (portion), 6.—(not fixed), and 7. *Dákṣa*- (competence); and in addition 8. *Mārtāṇḍá*- as the ancestor of mankind (and the death). Cf. J.P. BRERETON, *The Ṛgvedic Ādityas* (1981), T. GOTŌ, ‘Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa in RV VII 88’ (*Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik*, Erlanger Tagung 1997 [2000] 147–61) 159ff.
4. P. THIEME, “The ‘Aryan’ gods of the Mitanni treaties” *JAOS* 80 (1960) 301–17 (Kl. Schr. 396–412) tries to prove that all these are enumerated as “treaty-protecting gods”. But the passage in the document itself points to the interpretation of the five deities as representatives of the *devá*-s (“heavenly ones”) and the *ásura*-s/*Ādityá*-s (the judicial, binding gods): “May the gods of the secret (A. GOETZE conjectures ‘gods of assembly’) and the gods whom we call lords of the oath, whom we are herewith calling, stand by, may they hear and may they be witnesses” (loc. cit. 305 = 400).
5. Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ points out a possibility that a group of deities in charge of the sun’s movement may be referred to by DINGIR.MEŠ *na-ša-a[t-ti-ja-a]n-na* with plural sign (see footnote 1), i.e. Nāsatya, Ásvín and Trita Āptya, as is discussed below 10.
6. About various interpretations, see HILLEBRANDT, *Vedische Mythologie*² I (1927) 56ff., J. GONDA, *The dual deities* (1974) 48ff.; further, G. ZELLER, *Die vedischen Zwillingsgötter*, 1990 (History of research 6–15), É. PIRART, *Les Nāsatya*, I–II (1995, 2001), Th. OBERLIES, *Die Religion des Ṛgveda I* (1998) 178–83, K.P. JOG, *Ásvins. The Gods in Indian Mythology, Literature & Art* (2005), each with bibliography.
7. The remark of OLDENBERG, *Rel. d. Veda*² 213 n. 1 against V. WILLAMOWITZ is worth notice.
8. The present contribution is based on this Japañese sketch. I am indebted to Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ for suggestions, corrections and discussions, which brought great benefits to this English version.
9. According to RV X 17,2, however, Saranyū bore them twins (*utāśvínāv abharad . . . dvā mithunā*). Separate births are also reported in Yaska XII 1–2, Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka I 10,2; cf. OLDENBERG, *Rel.Ved.*²

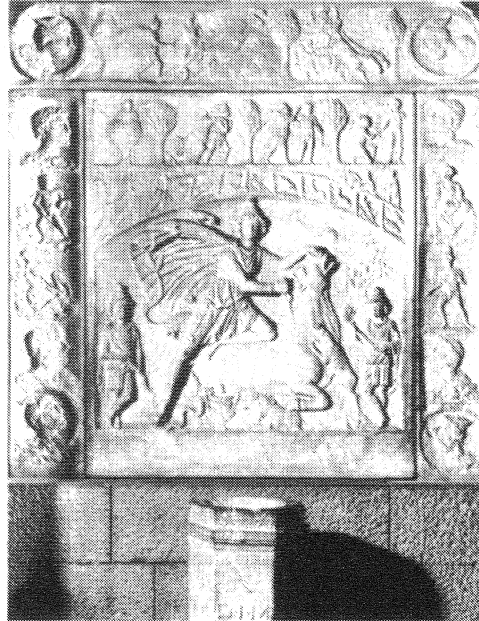
- 211, HILLEBRANDT, *Ved. Myth.*² I 66, K.F. GELDNER, *Vedismus und Brahmanismus* (1928) 23. Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) in Greek myth have a similar story, as GÜNTERT, *Ar. Weltkönig* 261, 263 and others point out. The Names *Nāsatya-* and *Dasra-* in the *Mahābhārata* are due to a secondary invention.
10. *ihéha* 'here and here' (distributive *āmreḍita* with words of Ich-Deixis) in the meaning of 'here and there' is a normal expression in Indo-Aryan, cf. the famous formula for *idappaccayatā* 'casual relationship [depending on this and this]' in Pāli *imasmim sati idaṃ hoti. imass' uppādā idaṃ uppajjati* 'when this (: A) exists, this (: B) arises; on the ground of this (: A), this (: B) comes into existence'.
 11. About *sām avāvaśītām* cf. Ch. SCHAEFER, *Das Intensivum im Vedischen* (1994) 181f., M.J. KÜMMEL *Das Perfekt im Indoiranischen* (2000) 487f. The active flexion may have some relevance. I interpret *arepāsā* here as instr. sg. (so SCHAEFER, too) against nom. du. in V 73,4, assuming that I 181,4 is remodelled on the base of the wording in V 73,4; GELDNER and KÜMMEL take it as du. in both cases.
 12. Cf., for instance, GELDNER, *Der Rig-Veda IV, Register von J. NOBEL* (1957) 38ff.
 13. Cf. V 75,2 *sindhu-vāhasā* 'both stream-driver!'. Their ship is *āpodaka-* 'apart from water' and *ātmavātī-* 'having ātman, animated (?)', both in I 116,3, cited in 10.
 14. About *sudīne* 'having good daytime' see GOTŌ, 'Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa' 154 n. 23.
 15. Cf. M. WITZEL, *BEI* 2 (1984) 213–79, especially 230. This interpretation, which may have really existed as an individual view in those days, has a weak point, that the Milky Way does not always lie east to west, but changes seasonally its direction.
 16. *stuṣé* may be (still) infinitive: 'it is to be praised about you both', cf. P. SGALL, *Die Infinitive im Rgveda*, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae—Philologica* 2 (1958) 182.
 17. LÜDERS, *Varuṇa I* (1951) 87 concludes that *kakūha-* as well as *trikakūd-* mean "das in der Mitte [der drei Pferde] gehende Spitzenpferd" (the leading house set in the middle of the draught horses' team). *kakhāso* (3a) should be then considered as a elliptic plural 'a leading horse and the other (two)'.
 18. Pāda c is not clear, *carṣaṇi-* in the sg. only here, cf. THIEME, *Kl.Schr.* 250; as to Pāda ab cf. NARTEN, *Kl. Schr.* 109.
 19. Or: 'You both bestow on us . . . ' in the interpretation of *rāsāthām* as injunctive, cf. footnote 31.
 20. Or: 'The drops [of Soma] are [on the footstep] of the heaven, on the footstep of the rivers', cf. LUDWIG, *OLDENBERG Noten*, GELDNER ad loc.
 21. *srutí-* 'way, road', obviously 'river, river-bed, channel' in its origin (from *srav/sru* 'to flow'), must have reflected an old custom, where riverbeds were used for the travel in dry seasons; differently LIEBERT, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti-* (1949) 39 (: by way of "Seeweg"). The word was remodeled into *sṛtí-* (: *sar/sr* 'to run'), apparently according to the change of life, cf. RV VI 24,4 *gāvām iva srutáyaḥ saṃcárāṇiḥ* 'like paths of cows to walk together' (GELDNER "die gangbaren Wege" ~ BĀU IV 2,3 *sṛtīḥ sātī saṃcárāṇi* 'the right passage to walk together (for Puruṣa and his wife)').
 22. "radiating one, dawning": the name of an ancestor (Yama's father), used also in the sense of 'the human, human being', cf. GELDNER ad X 17,2a. Another possibility may be Agni. GELDNER 'bei dem Opferer'.
 23. I thank Dr. Ejirō DŌYAMA for suggesting this stanza. The preceding stanza I 118,4 is cited above, 5.3.
 24. Cf. X 37,3, of the Sun: *prācīnam anyād ānu vārtate rāja¹ úd anyéna jyótiṣā yāsi sūrya* 'The one, the darkness, rolls eastward gradually. You rise driving with the other, the light, oh Sun', or: 'The one [wheel, i.e.] the darkness, . . . with the other [wheel, i.e.] the light . . .'. About two wheels see below, 15. For this place, cf. also E. SIEG, *Kl.Schr.* 332 ("Der Nachtweg" 9).
 25. GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig* 259 assumes **nasati-* in the meaning of "Rettung durch Herbeieilen (rescue)", and compares *vasatí-* 'stay, nest, passing the night' and *amhatí-* 'affliction, distress' (further examples in WACKERNAGEL–DEBRUNNER, *Altindische Grammatik II-2* [1954] 628, 642), *Nāsatyā* thus 'die beiden Nothelfer, die Retter und Heilande (vgl. got. *nasjands* 'σωτήρ' "Heiland")'.
 26. Cf. T. GOTŌ, *Die 'I. Präsensklasse' im Vedischen* (1987, 1996) 200ff., RIX, KÜMMEL et al., *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben* (2001) 454f. (by Th. ZEHNDER).
 27. After E. TZAMALI, *Syntax und Stil bei Sappho* (1996) 387. The sheep in masculine, goat in feminine, are also the case with OIAr: *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* I 8,1:116,2f. (prose) *āviḥ* 'he-sheep' and *ajā* 'she-goat'

- in the enumeration of seven domesticated sacrificial offerings (*saptā grāmāḥ paśávaḥ*: man, horse, cow, sheep, goat, barley, rice).
28. About other proposals, e.g., from 'nose': WEBER, Ind. Streifen III 428 ('die beiden aus dem nächtlichen Dunkel hervortretenden Lichtnasen, Lichtinseln', i.e. Gemini), LOMMEL, Fs. Schubring 29ff., THIEME, Fs. Risch 173 n. 25, cf. MAYRHOFER, Kurzgefaßt. etym. Wb. II (1963) s.v. with bibliography.
 29. H. LÜDERS, Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhist. Urkanons (1954) 72–4: §83, derives *pāli osadhī-* from an unattested OIA **ausarī-* with alleged meaning 'dawn-coloured', with an acrobatic and unintelligible arguments; CPD II s.v. (by K.R. NORMAN) follows regrettably this view. *osadhī* (-*tārakā*-) is called in the commentaries also *sukkā- tārakā-* 'white, bright star'.
 30. *Bhuḥyú-* means seemingly 'paying for his sin, penitent', thus a scapegoat of the gods. For such meaning ("büßen") of the verb *bhuḥj*, see K. HOFFMANN, Der Injunktiv im Veda (1967) 96. This meaning, not attested, e.g. in the Dharma-literature, may have been survived still in Meghadūta I 1 *kāntavirahaguṇā ... śāpena ... varṣabhogyena bhartuḥ* 'through the curse of [his] master with the weight (assessment of the case) of separation from [his] beloved, which is to be paid for one year'. *Bhuḥyú-* is referred to in the Ṛgveda also in X 40,7, X 65,12 besides the cited occurrences. Cf. footnote 35.
 31. Or, with the imperative: 'Drive, you both ... ! Make, oh N° ... !' About the exceptionality of injunctives in the homonymic forms with imperatives (among them *-tam*), see HOFFMANN, Inj. 111. Cf. footnote 19.
 32. *pitṛbhyas* is to be considered as an ablative; differently OLDENBERG, Noten z. St., GELDNER "ihn zu seinen Eltern heimbringend" (bringing him home to his fathers). This place suggests together with "the race of Yama" (RV I 116,2cd) that the set sunlight travels through the world of the dead. See below 16.
 33. *viḥjanyām* probably to *vi-jay/ji* 'conquer definitely' (cf. MAYRHOFER EWAia, s.v. *jén-ya-*); GELDNER '(die Umfahrt) in die Fremde(?)', from *janī* 'to generate'.
 34. K. HOFFMANN (in a lecture) supposes that *Āθβīia-* is derived from **(h₂)ātu-* in the meaning of 'circuit [of the sun]' (cf. Lat. *annus*, Goth. *aþn* 'year'), and **Ātūiā-* was changed in Vedic to *Āptiyā-* by popular etymology (then, naturally after *āp-* 'water'). *Tritā-* is 'the third one', *Āraētaona-* 'descendent of "the third one"', cf. MAYRHOFER, EWAia s.v. *tritā-*. Thus, the name makes probably an allusion to a certain ("third") stage of the course the sun takes.
 35. The Proto-Indo-Iranian form would be **Pāura-*. A development **-ur- > -rū-* could be assumed for YAv. *Pāuruua-* (thus *Pāruua-*), just like **ruuata- ~ vrata-* in the word-initial (HOFFMANN-FORSSMAN 87:§52g). Ṛgvedic *Bhuḥyú-* might well be an Indic innovation, see footnote 30.
 36. Cf. RV I 105 (grieves of Trita), where the gods' scapegoat Trita watches the nocturnal sky in the water, most probably fallen into the well.
 37. Cf. RV I 34,2.5.9; 47,2; 118,1–3; 157,3; 183,1, IV 36,1, VII 69,2; 71,4, VIII 22,5; 58,3.
 38. The theme is discussed in full detail and width by WITZEL, "Vala and Iwato: The Myth of the Hidden Sun in India, Japan, and beyond", Electric Journal of Vedic Studies 12-1 (2005).
 39. Cf. a metaphoric description of the Brahmacāriṇ in AV XI 5,26 (the last stanza in the Brahmacāriṇ hymn).
 40. In the hymn for Ásvin VIII 26,8 *índranāsatyā gatam* appears with the vocative of dual dvandva and the imperative dual of the aorist, GELDNER "Kommet, Indra und die Nāsatya's", cf. also THIEME, Kl.Schr. 410 (see above, footnote 4).
 41. There are, to be sure, also such cases, cf. I 163,1 (cited 7., at the end), or VII 77,3: *devānām cáksuḥ subhágā váhantī* | *śvetām náyantī sudṛśīkam ásvam* | *uṣā adarśi raśmibhir vyāktā* | *citrāmaghā víśvam ánu prābhūtā* | 'Conveying the eyesight of the gods, conducting the white, good-looking horse (: the sun), the fortunate Uṣas (the dawn) has [just] become seen, adorned with rays (=reins) of the [sun], with colourful (various) ability, become outstanding along everything'.
 42. A **-l/n-*heteroclitical neuter substantive: nom. (A) **sáh₂uḥ* (> Proto-Celtic **sāuhal* > **hōuhal* > **hōuhal* > MBreton. *heol*), reformed to (B) **sáh₂uḥel*, or (C) **sh₂uḥel* (> OIAr. *svār-, súvar-,* OAv. *huṣar-*); gen. **sh₂(u)én-s* (> OAv. **huṣēng-* > *xʷəng*, YAv. *hū*). *Sāvār-bhānu-* (RV V 40) is the demon 'having the sunlight (corona) as his luminous appearance, banner', thus the personified solar eclipse, cf. GOTÖ, 'Vasiṣṭhā und Varuṇa' 158f. with n. 37.

43. OIAr. *sūrya-* m. < **suuri̯a-* < **sh₂u₂li̯o-* (: C + *-ih₂o-), Gk. (Hom-Ion.) *ēēlios*, Att. *hēlios* m. < **sāu₂eli̯o-* < **sāh₂u₂li̯o-* (: B + *-ih₂o-), Lat. *sol* m. < **sāuōl* < **sah₂uōl* (: changed into masculine from B), Got. *sauil sāuēlo* < **sāh₂uēl-o-* (: B + *-o-, originally a neuter, because of *guþ* ‘god’ n. < **ǵ^{hu}-tō* OIAr. *hutá-* ‘offered as libation’).
44. This emphasizes the Indo-Aryan character of *Šu-ri-ia-ás* ‘*Šamaś*, the Sun god’ in the Kassitic glossary, cf. MAYRHOFER, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (1966) 15, *Die Arier im vorderen Orient—Ein Mythos?* (1974) 13.
45. The upside-down position the “goose” and Hesperus show, may symbolize that the ocean through which the ship travels, is the night sky (cf. footnote 15). More natural is, however, to assume the underground ocean or stream surrounding the earth, cf. 5.1. — *parāvāt-* (cf. I 112,13, above 7., translated ‘the farthest place’) could mean the other side of the sphere, the upper half of which is the world of human beings. Cf. Junko SAKAMOTO-GOTŌ, “Das Jenseits und *iṣṭā-pūrtā-*” (Indoarisch, Iranisch und die Indogermanistik, 2000, 475–90) 480 n. 26, H.W. BODEWITZ, “Distance and Death in the Veda” (AsS 54, 2000, 103–17) 105f., F.B.J. KUIPER, “An Indian Prometheus?” (AsS 25, 1971, 85–98) 93f. (= Ancient Indian Cosmogony, 1983, 224f.). Cf. Kāthaka-Saṁhitā VI 1^p:50,3f. *yāt sāyām juhōti téna bhrātrvyāya pārācīm vīvāsayati. yāt prātās tēnātmāne pratīcīm* ‘In that he offers [the Agnihotra] in the evening, he thereby makes [the dawn] shine out away (in the opposite direction) for [his] rivals. In that [he offers] at daybreak, [he] thereby [makes the dawn shine out] in the facing direction for himself’. As to *pūriṣāt* ‘from the spring (outlet of the underground water/channel?)’, cf. I 163,1 in 10.
46. Cf. also VIII 22,4, VI 62,10. Dr. Ejirō DŌYAMA pointed out this and the next example with his interpretation, to which the presented translation owes much (and, differs from the usual ones). About *vāpuṣ-* ‘amazing appearance, Wundergestalt’, indicating the sun in the night (more exactly: the sunlight, as is shown here and in I 118,5, see above, 7.), cf. GOTŌ, “Vasiṣṭha und Varuṇa” 151f. with n. 16. Because of *yakṣā-* “wonder, monstrousness”, see above, 11.
47. ‘Ehni (1896: 28 [J. EHNI, *Die ursprüngliche Gottheit des vedischen Yama*, Leipzig]) draws attention to the parallelism of the sun which sets or goes down and the dying human beings in connection with the verb *parā-i-*’ (BODEWITZ, AsS 54, 105 n. 9, see footnote 45).
48. *iyām* is metrically to be read as *‘yām* so that *yām-asya* stands in a word play with *yamāsya* (*nādīḥ*).
49. Our thinking turns only to one object at a time, but it can turn to everything. The chariot might allude to the tomb having a wheel-shaped ground plan, cf. A. PARPOLA “Pre-Proto-Iranians of Afghanistan as Initiators of Śākta Tantrism: On the Scythian/Saka Affiliation of the Dāsas, Nuristanis and Magadhans” (Iranica Antiqua, 37, 2002, 233–324) 310–12.
50. *sām itō nāv₂y āhitam* ‘set (from) here together in the ship’: said of the chariot or the melody (also possible: ‘united in the ship’). The travel by ship reminds us, in this context, also of Vaitaraṇī in later literature, the river the deceased has to cross.

Figure I from: Reinhold MERKELBACH, *Mithras. Königstein/Ts (Hain) 1984.*

I-1 p. 342f., Abb. 101, Nida (Heddernheim): On the left Cautopates-Hesperus with a lowered torch (: sunset and night), on the right Cautes-Lucifer with a raised torch (sunrise and daytime).



I-2 p. 321, Abb. 72, Bononia (Italia): Concerning the upset pitcher, cf.

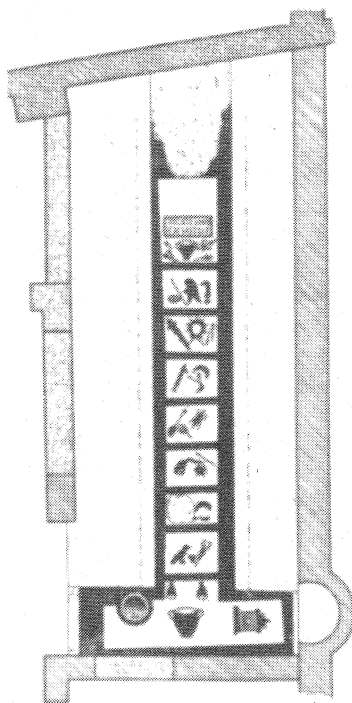


RV V 85,3 (to Varuṇa) *nīcīnabāraṃ vāruṇaḥ
kāvandham¹ prā sasarja ródasī antárikṣam*
'Varuṇa has poured out the cask with the opening
[turned] downwards towards heaven and earth,
towards the intermediate region'.

I-3 p. 377, Abb. 142, Carnuntum (Pannonia), the left side: Cautes-Lucifer with a raised torch.



I-4 p. 295, Abb. 38, Ostia: See, especially, 5th and 6th stage (from beneath).



I-5 p. 376, Abb. 140, Poetovio (Pannonia): Mithra's birth from the rock, cf. Old-Japan. *ama no iwato* 'rock-door of the heaven' (which conceals the sun).



I-6 p. 375 Abb. 139, Poetovio (Pannonia): The sun-god with quadriga.

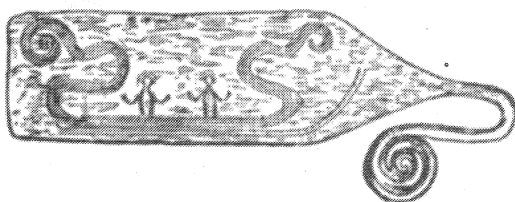


Figure II from: Hermann GÜNTERT, *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland. Bedeutungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur indo-iranischen Religionsgeschichte und Altertumskunde*. Halle (Niemeyer) 1923.

II-1 p. 272, a rock drawing from Ryland (Tanum in Bohuslän, in the north of Göteborg, southern Sweden), 'prehistoric', no description: On the left a ship, on the right a horse, in the middle probably the Sun who changes now; beneath jointed spirals (sunlight in night and in day); further on the right Hesperus (above) and Lucifer (below). See 14.



II-2 A p. 273, bronze razor from Jutland (younger Bronze Age): 'Gemini' stand on a boat with the burst sunlight aboard. Their gesture represents the "Indo-European" pose for showing reverence or friendship: RV *uttānāhasta- nāmasā* 'having (the palm of) the hands stretched out, with reverence', OAv. *ustānazastō nāmaṇhā*, Gk. *χεῖραζ ἄγασχών* Lat. *palmas tendens* (A. KAEGI, *Der Rigveda*² 183 n.173). — B p. 275, do. — C p. 275. do.: in the right part, one can perhaps see a "goose" upside down.



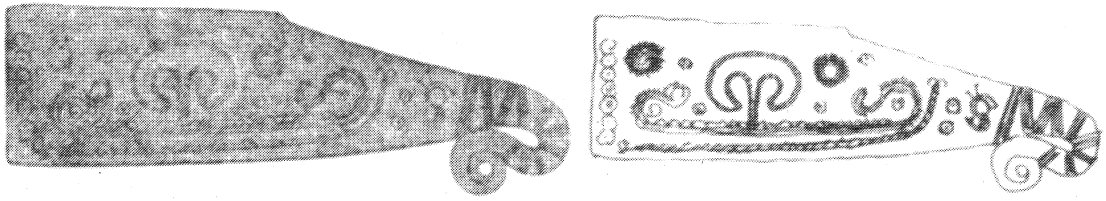


Figure III from: Ernst PROBST, *Deutschland in der Bronzezeit. Bauern, Bronzegießer und Burgherrn zwischen Nordsee und Alpen*. München (Orbis) 1999 (Bertelsmann 1996):

III-1 p. 310, bronze razor from Gödenstorf (Kreis Harburg) in Niedersachsen, northern Germany, younger Bronze Age (Lüneburg group, ca. 1100–800 BC).

III-2 p. 311, do., from so-called “king’s tomb” near Harsefeld (Kreis Stade) in Niedersachsen.

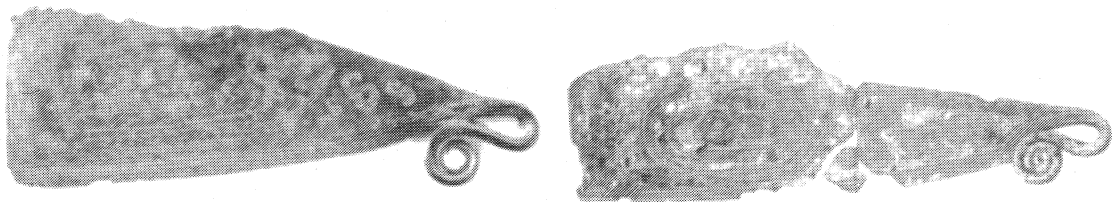


Figure IV from: Marija GIMBUTAS, *The Civilization of the Goddess: The World of Old Europe*. San Francisco (Harper) 1991:

IV-1 p. 397, figure 10-43, stela from Bagnolo, Valcamonica, northern Italy, ca. 3000 BC.

IV-2 p. 398, figure 10-44, stela from Caven at Teglio, Valtellina, northern Italy, ca. 3000 BC.

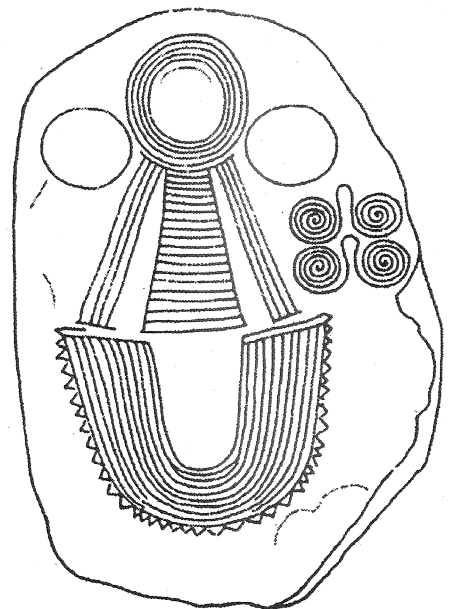
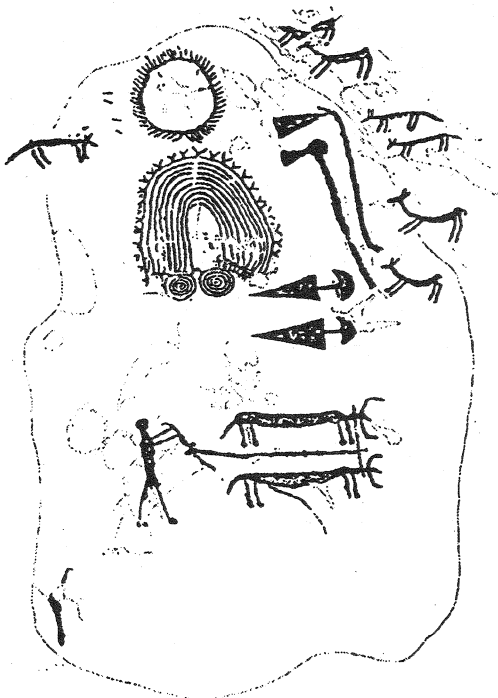


Figure V from: Ernst PROBST, *Deutschland in der Steinzeit. Jäger, Fischer und Bauern zwischen Nordseeküste und Alpenraum*. München (Orbis) 1999 (Bertelsmann 1991), p. 482: One of the oldest metal objects found in Switzerland, Font (Kanton Freiburg/Fribourg), copper, Cortaillod culture (ca. 4000 – 3500 B.C.), import from eastern middle Europe.

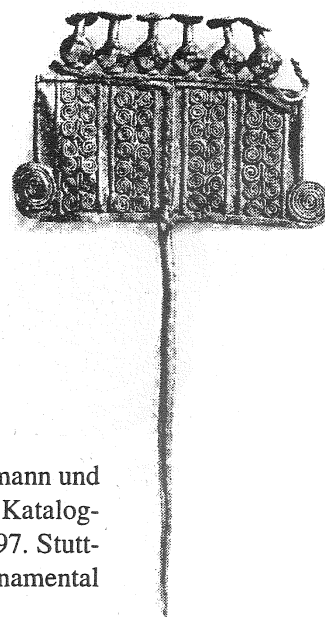
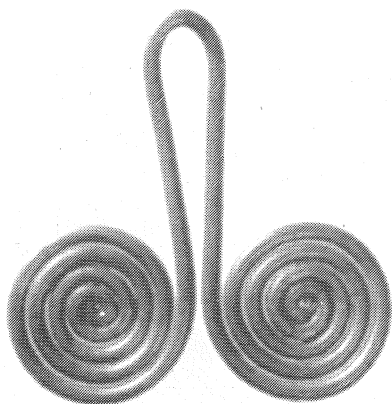
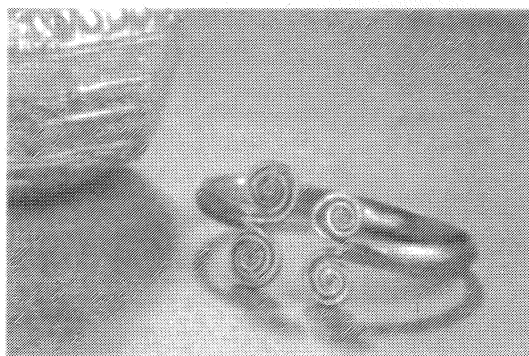
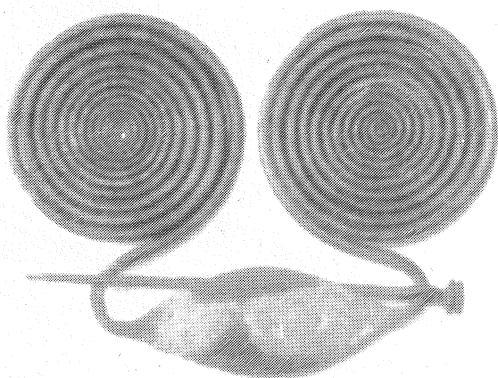


Figure VI from: *Der Schatz aus Troja. Schliemann und der Mythos des Priamos-Goldes*. Katalogbuch; Ausstellung in Moskau 1996/97. Stuttgart/Zürich (Belser) 1996, p. 182, ornamental pin (2nd half of 3rd millennium).

Figure VII from: Ernst PROBST, *Deutschland in der Bronzezeit* (as **Figure III**):

VII-1 p. 298, bronze fibula for hair knot from Deutsch Evern (near Lüneburg) in Niedersachsen, middle Bronze Age (Lüneburg group, ca. 1200–1100 B.C.).

VII-2 p.336, gold bracelet, from Caputh (near Potsdam), Late Nordic Bronze Age (ca. 1100–800 B.C.).



VII-3 p. 327, bronze leg ring from Lübz, near Parchim, Middle Nordic Bronze Age (ca. 1200–1100 BC): To be compared with **VIII**.

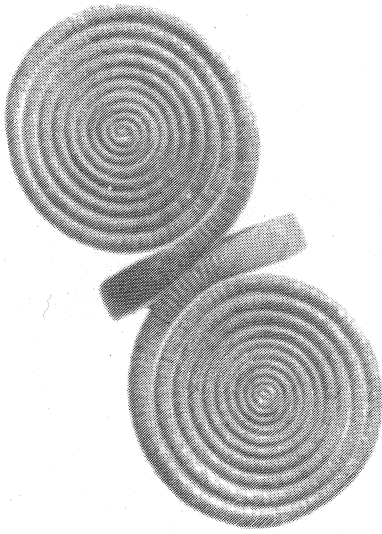
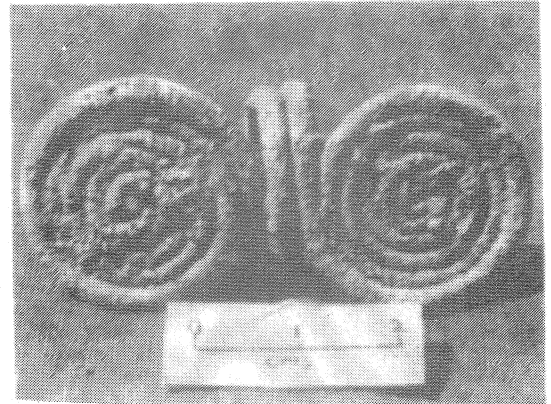


Figure VIII from: M.K. DHAVALIKAR, Cultural Imperialism (Indus Civilization in western India). New Delhi (Books & Books), 1995, p. 80: from Kuntasi, Period I (ca. 2400–1900 BC), Indus civilization. Compare with **VII-3**. [Suggested by Mr. Manabu KOISO, Tōkai University.]



Kuntasi, copper ring

Figure IX from: Heinrich SCHLIEMANN, Mykenae. Bericht über meine Forschungen und Entdeckungen in Mykenae und Tiryns. Leipzig 1878 (reprint Wiesbaden, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1991): IX-1 p. 91, IX-2 p. 226.

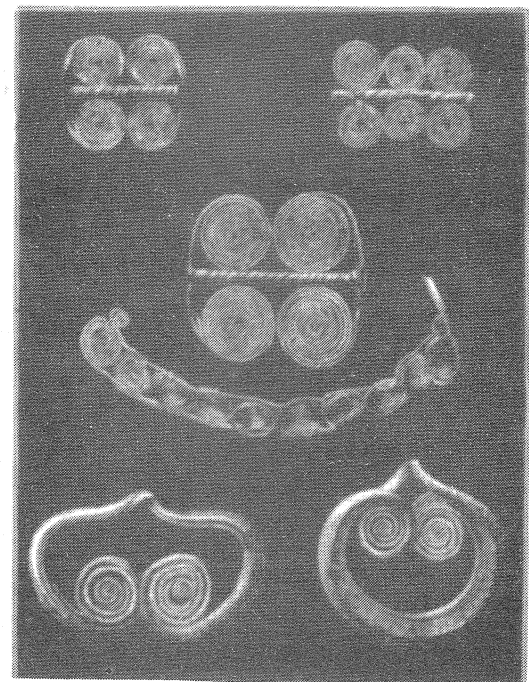


Figure X bronze or copper pin with the double-spiral: **X-1** from Chanhudaro and Mohenjo-daro (Stuart PIGGOTT, "Notes on Certain Metal Pins and a Mace-Head in the Harappā Culture", *Ancient India* 4, 1947-1948, p. 27); **X-2** "distribution of pins" (op. cit. p. 30); **X-3** from Manda (Jagat Pati JOSHI, R.S. BISHT, *India and the Indus Civilisation*. New Delhi: National Museum Institute, Deemed University, 1994, p. 20). [X 1-3: suggestion by Mr. Manabu KOISO, Tōkai University.]

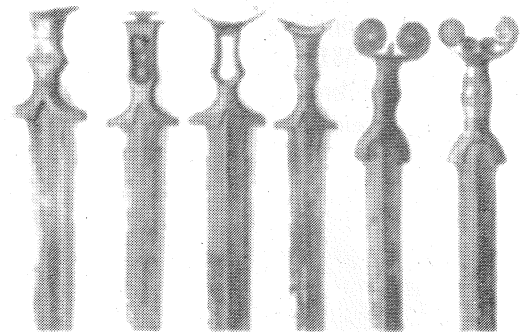
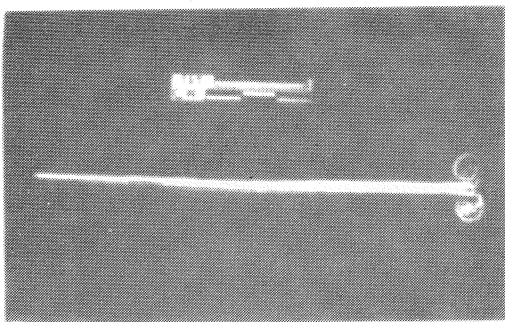
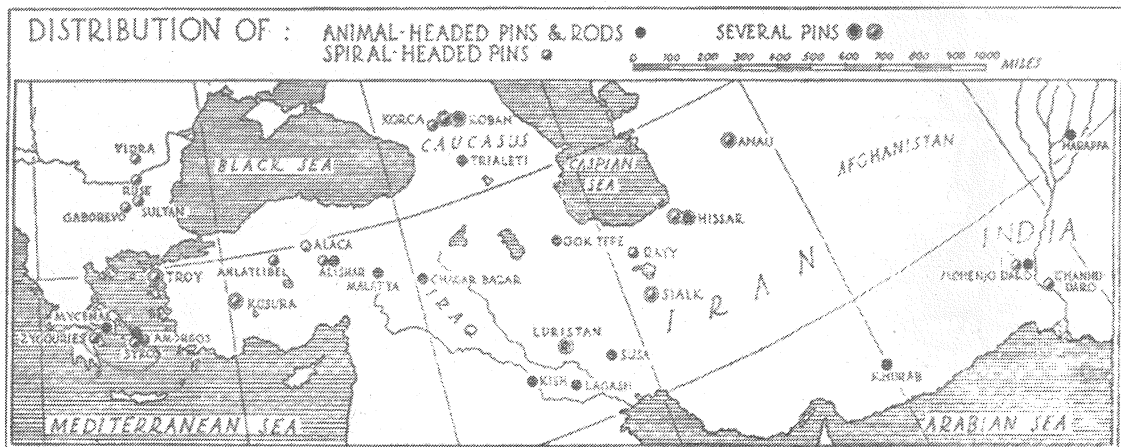
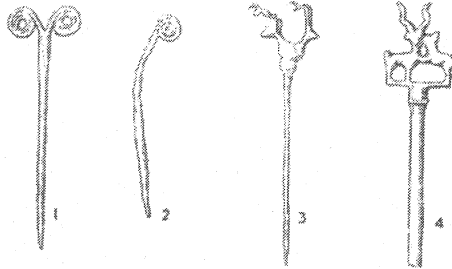
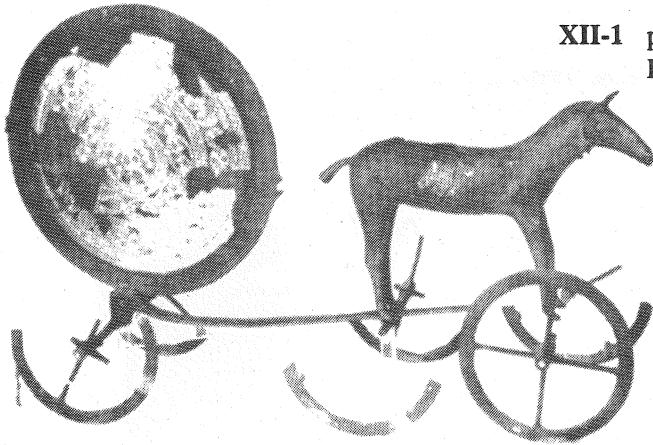


Figure XI for comparison, from PROBST, *Bronzezeit* (as **III**) p. 354: swords found in Bothenheiligen, Thüringen, Late Bronze Age, "Unstrut group" (ca. 1300/1200–800 B.C.).

Figure XII from: *Magisches Gold. Kultgerät der späten Bronzezeit*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg 1977 (exposition catalogue):



XII-1 p. 29, the sun-wagon from Trundholm, Denmark, ca. 1400 B.C. (?).

XII-2 p. 34, clay carriage from Dupljaja, near Vršac (Vojvodina,), the 2nd half of 2nd millennium. (right: from <http://solair.eunet.yu/~libcom/pg000003.htm>)

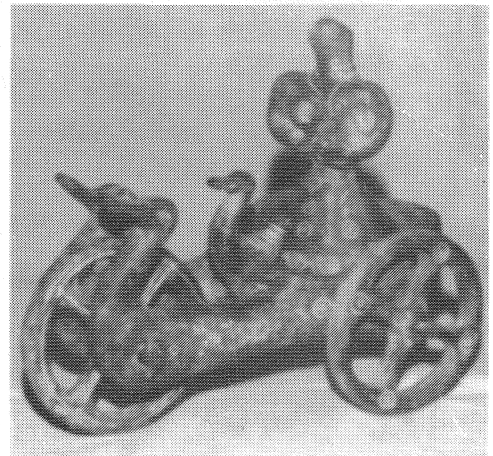
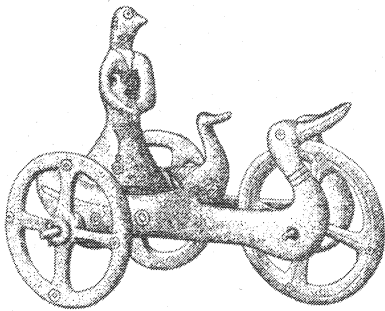


Figure XIII from: PROBST, *Bronzezeit* (as III):

XIII-1 p. 371: bronze, from Potsdam-Eiche in Brandenburg, Lausitz culture. (ca. 1300–800 B.C.), cf. also p. 381 (almost the same object also from the area near Frankfurt/Oder).

XIII-2 p. 370: bronze, from Acholshausen near Ochsenfurt (Kreis Würzburg), late Bronze Age, Urnenfeld (urn field) culture (ca. 1200–800 B.C.).

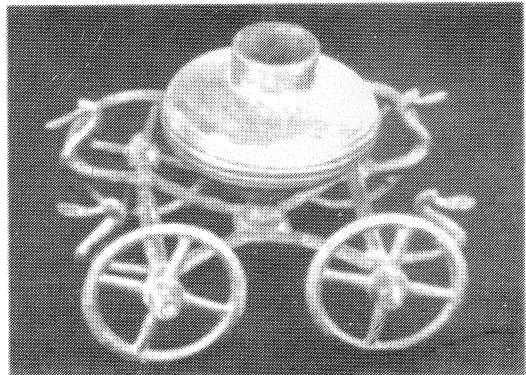
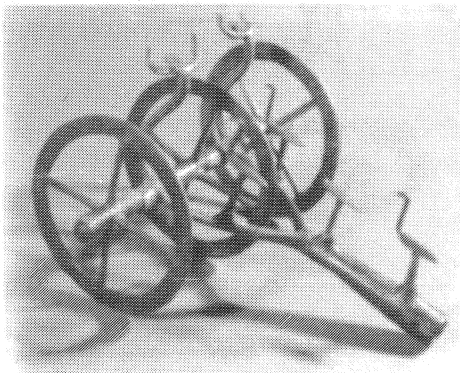


Figure XIV from: SAKAKI Akihiro and MORI Teijirō, *Sōshokukofun* (Decorated Tumuli). Tokyo (Asahishinbunsha) 1972. (榊 晃弘・森貞次郎『装飾古墳』朝日新聞社)

XIV-1 p. 43, Mezurashizuka, Yoshii, Fukuoka prefecture. (珍敷塚古墳, 福岡県うきは市吉井町)

XIV-2 p. 46, Gorōyama, Haruda, Fukuoka prefecture. (五郎山古墳, 福岡県筑紫野市原田)

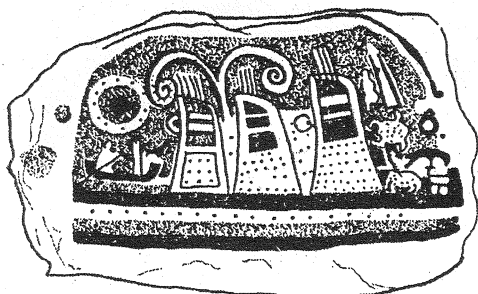
XIV-3 p. 19, Tsukahanzuka, Asada, Fukuoka prefecture. (塚花塚古墳, 福岡県うきは市朝田)

XIV-4 p. 34, Segonkō, tumulus 3, Kumamoto city. (千金甲第3号古墳, 熊本市)

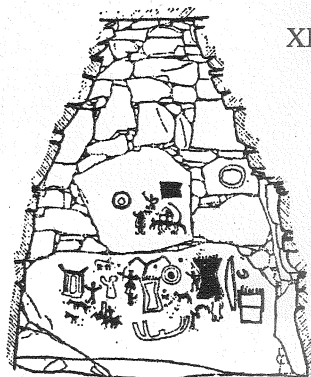
XIV-5 p. 47, Takehara, Wakamiyachō, Fukuoka prefecture. (竹原古墳, 福岡県若宮町)

XIV-6 p. 44, Torifunazuka, Yoshii, Fukuoka prefecture. (鳥船塚古墳, 福岡県うきは市吉井町)

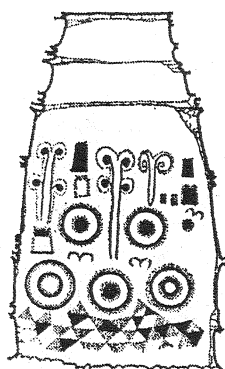
XIV-1



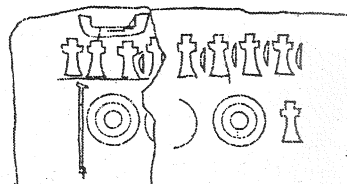
XIV-2



XIV-3



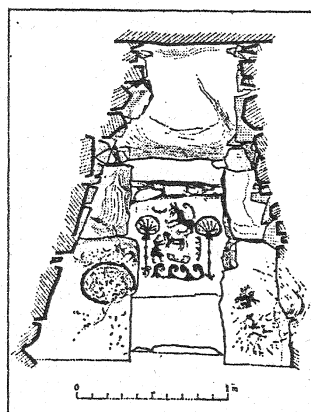
XIV-4



千金甲第3号古墳 石室形次第の装飾

塚花塚 奥室奥壁文様

XIV-5



竹原古墳 奥室奥壁文様図

XIV-6

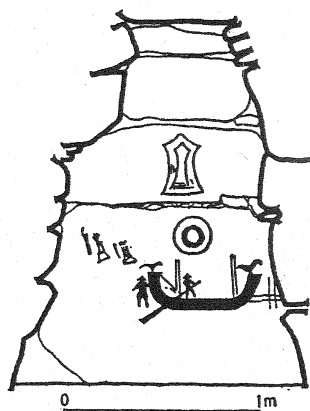
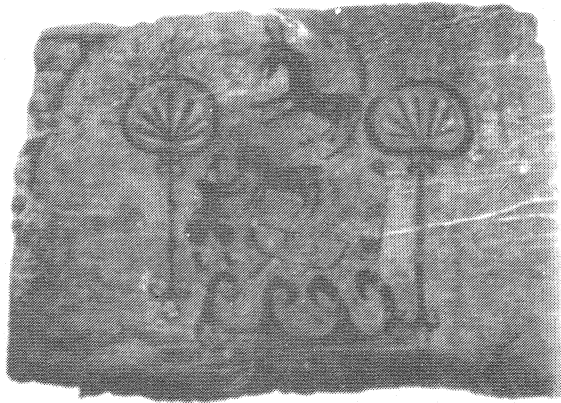
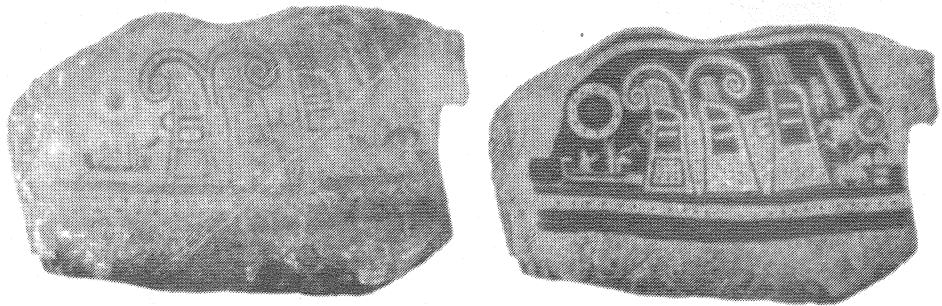


Figure XV from: *Sōshokukofun ga katarumono* (What decorated tumuli tell us). National Museum of Ethnology, Tokyo (Yoshikawa kōbun kan) 1995. (『装飾古墳が語るもの』国立民族学博物館編, 吉川弘文館)

XV-1 p. 12, Mezurashizuka, Yoshii, Fukuoka prefecture, reconstruction. (珍敷塚古墳, 福岡県吉井)



XV-2 p. 13, Takehara, Wakamiyachō, Fukuoka prefecture. (竹原古墳, 福岡県若宮町)



XV-3 ↓ p. 24, Hayama, cave 1, Takahata, Yamagata prefecture, copy. (羽山1号横穴, 山形県高畠町)

XV-4 → p. 24, Izumizaki, cave 4, Fukushima prefecture, copy. (泉崎4号横穴, 福島県泉崎村)

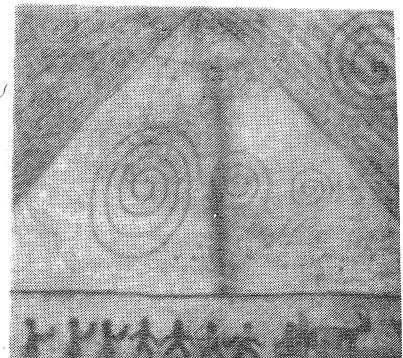


Figure XVI from: KUSAKA Hakkō, *Sōshokukofun no himitsu* (Secrets of decorated tumuli). Tokyo (Kōdansha) 1978. (目下八光『装飾古墳の秘密 壁画文様の謎を解く』講談社)

XVI-1 p. 3, Ōzuka, Katsuragawachō, Fukuoka prefecture, reconstruction. (王塚古墳. 福岡県桂川町)

XVI-2 p.2, Hinooka, Yoshii, Fukuoka prefecture, reconstruction. (日の岡古墳, 福岡県うきは市吉井 町)

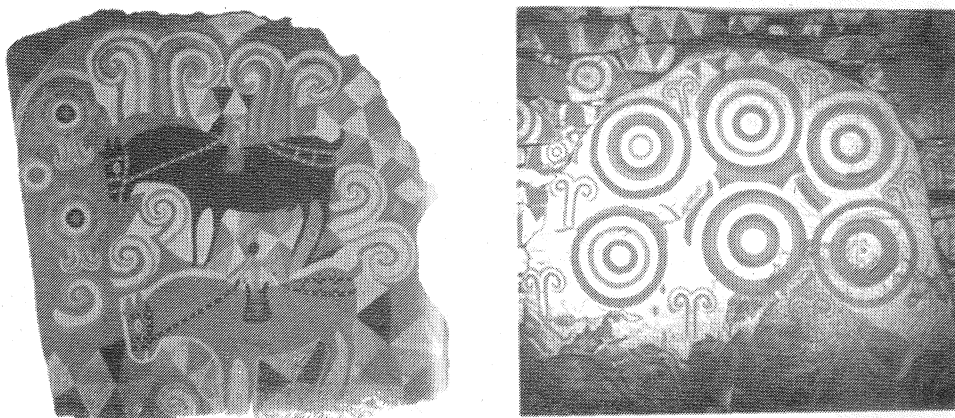


Figure XVII PROBST, *Bronzezeit (as III)*, p. 247: ornament plates from Pitten, Niederösterreich, Hügelgräber (tumuli) culture, ca. 1600–1300/1200 B.C.).

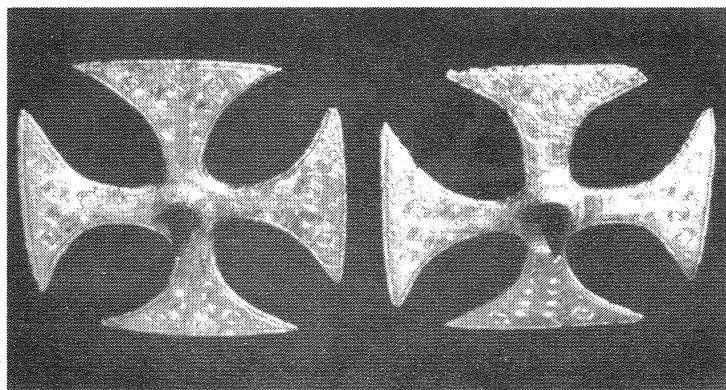


Figure XVIII SCHLIEMANN, *Mykenae (as VIII)*, p. 230: gold ornaments from grave 3.



Figure XIX from: F. SCHACHERMEYER, *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen. Vom 13. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Wien (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften) 1982.

XIX-1 Abb. 5 “Die Seeschlacht in den Reliefs von Medinet Habu” (orig.: H. H. NELSON, Medinet Habu I, *The Epigraphical Survey* 1930): invasion of the “sea people”.

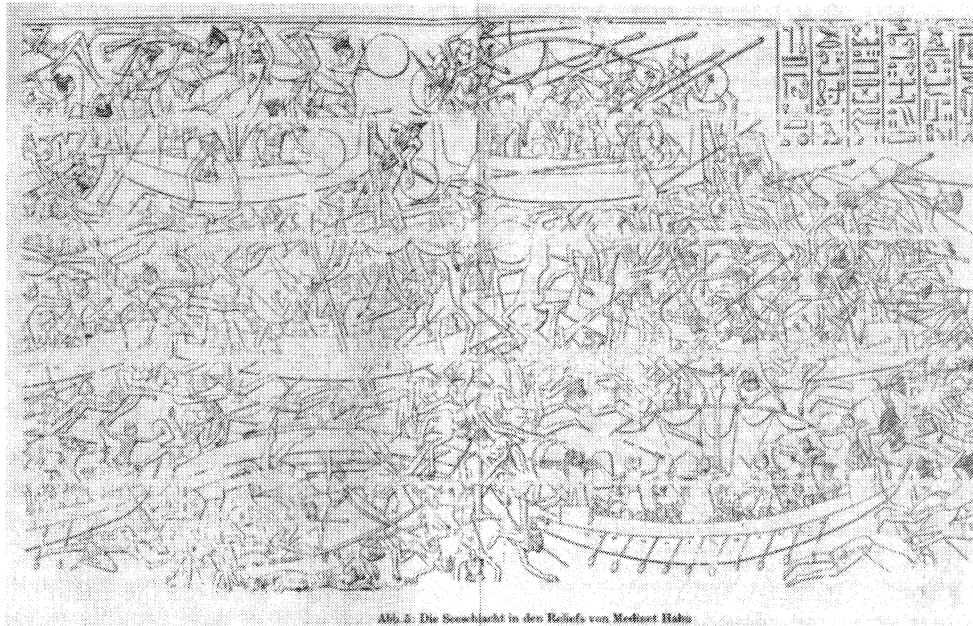


Abb. 5: Die Seeschlacht in den Reliefs von Medinet Habu

XIX-2 p. 79, ships with bird figure.

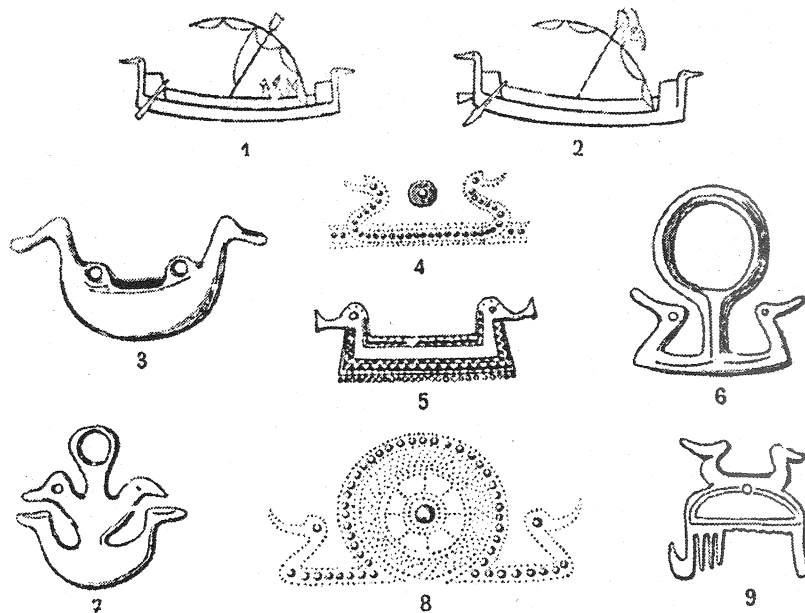


Abb. 7: 1-2 Philisterschiffe von Medinet Habu (nach Herbig und Schaeffer)—
3-9 Donauländische Vogelbarken (nach Kossack).

Linguistics, Archaeology and Human Past in South Asia

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